

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 867

February 6 1953

FOURPENCE

## WHY WE MUST LEAVE EGYPT

Emrys Hughes, MP

—PAGE SIX

### America risks world war

—page two

## FORMOSA

### Peace with China Executive meet

**A**N emergency meeting of the Peace With China Council Executive has been called for this week.

The whole situation arising from General Eisenhower's announcement that the US is ending the neutralisation of Formosa will be reviewed.

Members of the Executive include: Reginald Sorensen, M.P., Lord Stansgate, Lord Chorley, Lord Faringdon, Lady Selwyn Clarke, Mr. Kingsley Martin and Mr. Leslie Smith, Director of the National Peace Council.

A large number of MPs are members of the Council which, two years ago, mobilised public opinion in Britain against the policies being pursued by General MacArthur and the use of atomic weapons in Korea.

### British Quaker tells Americans

## BRING CHINA INTO UN

### Big Five meeting soon?

**"C**HINA has not been sufficiently induced to talk seriously about a truce in Korea," said Gerald Bailey, a British member of the Quaker team observing at the United Nations, when speaking at a luncheon of the Channel City Club at El Paseo in California recently.

"Such inducement should be the assurance that China's major political aims will be achieved:

1. Recognition of their regime by admission to the United Nations; and
2. Some guarantees that Formosa will not be maintained as the base for a counter-revolution.

"This is not the same as the United States recognising the regime, but it does mean the end of the absurd unreality of present Chinese representation in the UN."

Gerald Bailey, who was one of the Quaker team which visited Moscow in 1951, was able to give his personal experience of the Russians. Some indication of the interest aroused by his visit to El Paseo was given by the fact that the meeting was an overflow one.

### Bigger weapons will not save us

"We had to be willing to find ways to save ourselves from the destructive chaos of a third world war," he told the club. "Bigger and bigger weapons would not do it. As long as we had the means for 'push-button warfare,' there was a temptation to push the button. A better way had to be found or our end was sure."

Gerald Bailey concluded with confident expressions that soon there might be a meeting of top representatives of key countries—at least a few at the top are not as effective for peace as many at the bottom—with Eisenhower, Churchill, Stalin, the Premier of France and Nehru in attendance.

"Such a gathering might cut through the accumulated suspicions which now prevent a settlement, and thus remove the risk of a universal war. Somehow conflicting interests must be resolved, somehow the basis for the Korean truce must be broadened, somehow a way to peace must be found which the Communists—and ourselves—mutually want to succeed."

### Dr. Soper knocked from platform

Dr. Donald Soper is none the worse for an incident in Hyde Park on Sunday, when he was thrown to the ground and his platform overturned. Though his head hit the ground, Dr. Soper climbed back and went on speaking.

Thomas Ryan and Michael Peart were each fined 20s. at Marlborough Street Court on Monday, for using insulting behaviour and were told by the magistrate "The Doctor has the right of free speech as well as you."

Dr. Soper is President designate of the Methodist Conference. He was speaking about the international situation and the hanging of Derek Bentley.

## Londoners send £700 to African resisters

### "Practical support" — Michael Scott

**O**VER £690 was raised for the South African Non-Violent Resistance Movement at a crowded meeting in the Central Hall, London, on Monday, organised by Christian Action.

With the money, the 2,500 people present sent a message of "heart-felt greetings," expressing their admiration for and sympathy with, "those Africans, Indians and Europeans who have consistently sought to resist with non-violence the unjust racial laws."

From the Chair, Canon Collins said that the meeting should pay tribute to those who are resisting the unjust racial laws in South Africa. In view of the elections in April the time was now critical.

"The method of non-violence must receive the support of all Christians. It might pave the way for a campaign throughout the whole of Africa," he said.

It was said that there was danger of violence in the campaign, but not a single violent incident had arisen out of it; although more than 7,500 non-Europeans had been willing to go to jail.

### No easy solution in Africa

The Rev. Michael Scott denied that the passive resistance campaign was responsible for lawlessness in South Africa.

There was no constitutional means to change the unjust laws, hence the present campaign.

The doctrine of apartheid was hated throughout Africa, and South Africans were using the slogan "A white civilisation south of the Sahara."

Speaking of Central Africa, he warned against imposing the proposed federation against the wishes of the Africans. "Britain's whole future role in Africa is at stake," he declared.

Britain and the U.S. could not enforce these policies in Africa by arms, navies, or air forces, as they have tried to do in South-East Asia.

There was no quick and easy solution to this problem. "Confidence must be restored and co-operation gradually built up until a constitution expressing this confidence and co-operation can be accepted," he said.

The British Commonwealth had developed a pattern of free association of peoples of all races. The new race laws were incompatible with this pattern.

### Tribute to white supporters

Mr. Scott paid tribute to the white people supporting the campaign, such as Patrick Duncan and Freda Troup. The campaign was a challenge to the Christian conscience of the world.

A practical means of support in this country could be given by resisting any breach of faith with the chiefs and peoples of the Protectorates of Central Africa.

James Griffiths, M.P. and former Colonial Secretary who had recently returned from West Africa, said the deepest impression he had brought back was the conviction of an emergent African nationalism, for which we were in the main responsible. We had changed the pattern of the African's tribal life without integrating them into a civilisation and had produced a rootless proletariat.

There were two alternative policies for

### Floods: Were sea defences neglected?

**T**OO little has been done in recent years to protect our coastline against the sea, reports the Daily Herald, February 3, 1953.

"Government grants show that we have spent only about £7,000,000 since 1930 on coast defence," the report continues. "Local authorities cannot afford the vast sums involved without considerable State aid."

In the past five years, the following sums were allocated for war preparations:

1948	...	...	£ 692,632,000
1949	...	...	£ 759,863,000
1950	...	...	£ 780,820,000
1951	...	...	£1,113,762,000
1952	...	...	£1,462,210,000
			£4,809,287,000

### Alex Wood Memorial Lecture

**T**HE 1953 Alex Wood Memorial Lecture is to be given in London at Friends' House on Wednesday Feb. 18, at 6.30 p.m. The subject is "Contributions of Science to Peace" and the lecturer is Professor Charles E. Coulson, FRS, of Oxford. Dr. Charles Raven is expected to preside.

### Leaders arrested

**F**IVE African and Indian leaders of the Defence Campaign in South Africa were arrested last week. They are A. J. Luthuli, the newly-elected President of African National Congress, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of Natal Indian Congress; Mr. J. N. Singh, Vice-President; Mr. C. I. Amra, member of Indian Congress executive, and Mr. D. Mngadi, executive member of African National Congress.

They were accused of holding an unauthorised meeting in contravention of a municipal by-law and appeared in court on January 30. The defence counsel, Mr. A. S. Knox, protesting at the manner in which the authorities had handled the accused, said he would call the Mayor of Durban to prove that no permission was required to hold a meeting.

The case was adjourned until February 17. ("Luthuli—the hour and the man"—see page 4.)

Europeans: we could welcome it and seek to guide it and change it towards constructive ends, so that it will eventually lead to the building up of democracy in Africa; or we could resent this force and seek to thwart it by taking steps to deny its expression in constitutions and institutions.

### If we fail

If we did this and failed, "as I believe any attempt to hold it back is destined to fail, for the human spirit cannot be imprisoned" then there could be no alternative but a clash that would be catastrophic for all the peoples of Africa, the Commonwealth, and the whole world.

Nontando Jabavu (Mrs. Crossfield) said that Western people recognised only two sorts of Africans: "The aggressive agitator who is always irresponsible, and the simple unspoiled native, who knows nothing anyway."

Speaking of British politics she said that Africans had little reason to trust the British politicians. The actions of the Socialist Gordon Walker had been little different from those of the Conservative Lord Salisbury. Even Mr. Attlee had en-

● Continued back page

## MANILAL GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Manilal Gandhi recently issued a Press statement on his attitude to the Defence Campaign. It was not published in South Africa. Manilal Gandhi reports that the SA Press is now "reluctant to give even the little publicity they were giving to the struggle." The following is the abbreviated text of the statement:

**I**T is with a full sense of responsibility that I have now joined the defence campaign.

I have been deeply impressed with the bravery and courage shown by the vast number of men and women in this movement. It has been beyond all expectations, and my head bows humbly to them. But now the testing time has come.

The struggle will be a prolonged one, entailing a tremendous amount of suffering and sacrifice. We may have to lose our all, including our own lives and those of our near and dear ones.

Despite all that there can be no flagging in our determination. It must be sustained till our goal is reached.

### To awaken White conscience

Our goal is primarily to awaken the conscience of the White rulers of this country to the fact that disaster will come unless government is based, not on naked force but on the highest moral principles of justice and equity.

With that end in view, and especially in view of the fact that the Government has adopted, and is contemplating ruthless measures of repression, I feel that I must now openly come out and challenge the Government.

It is with mixed feelings of happiness and anxiety that I watch the growing number of liberal-minded Europeans who, led by Mr. Patrick Duncan, are beginning to participate in the struggle. Happiness in

## RECRUITING ADVERTISEMENTS

How much are we paying? — MP

Peace News Reporter

**W**HAT are we paying to insult the intelligence of the women of this country? Emrys Hughes raised this question in the debate on the Army Supplementary Estimate 1952-53 in the House last week.

An indignant constituent had sent him a copy of an advertisement from "Woman"—referred to by Peacemaker in Peace News last week—which called for recruits to the Women's Royal Army Corps.

It was an elaborate and no doubt expensive advertisement. It said that in the WRAC one got not only a new uniform but a new independent life.

In his experience in a Welsh Regiment in the First World War they did a lot of things to him, but nobody insulted him by saying that he was more independent.

"No rent to pay." That was the attraction offered. Did the hon. Gentlemen opposite with an interest in rent realise the implications of this? He would like to know what was the cost of this advertising campaign.

### Bring troops from Korea

In the Estimate (£35 million) there was, presumably, another additional item for troop movements in Korea. He did not believe that there was in this country any enthusiasm at all for those movements especially when, presumably, those movements included taking loads of troops, calling them up in February, taking them out of this country in July and finding them in the casualty lists in Korea in October.

"I believe that Korea is a very unpopular part for the British Army, and in the term movements, we presume are included all the movements to Korea, but the only movement of which I am in favour as far as Korea is concerned is a movement out of Korea."

"I believe that all these Supplementary Estimates should be opposed," concluded Mr. Hughes, "because then the right hon. Gentlemen opposite would not be encouraged to bring them before the House."

"I oppose them because I believe they are against the interest of the country and because I do not believe we are getting any real value for the £35 million proposed."

In reply, the Under-Secretary of State for War (Mr. J. R. H. Hutchison) suggested to Mr. Hughes that if he wanted an answer to his questions about the Women's Royal Army Corps, "he might camouflage his name, fill in the coupon, write to the address given in it and get his answer that way."

Mr. Emrys Hughes: "Can the hon. Gentleman give us the cost of advertising for purposes of recruitment to the women's forces and also tell us how much per recruit that advertising costs?"

Mr. Hutchison: "Not without notice, but if the hon. Gentleman cares to write to us, we will see if we can find out for him."

("Why we must leave Egypt" by Emrys Hughes, MP—page six.)

DRRISON  
n be  
ace

at a wave of illuminatingly sweep over the nations would see the e doing, and abandon it for a better way than the para bellum be as the light of a dilled by a spark in e of the world, as might become a con- far from predicting en, not equally im- possible. All the great ry have taken the Meanwhile let us and do what we can- ing, indifferent to ink, by Dr. L. P. Jack and Unwin, 12s. 6d.

good fortune to re of a book taken n a new book by L its appearance.

" is a collection ritten, by a man h no sign of men f the clear lucidity ght sunny day, giv- er eye of the search-

that is the essence history, to remember- erience, to events, y, probably will, p- understanding, but To be wise is perhap- of all human effor Unitarian minister, phy and the Editi- the Hibbert Journal a fine and movin- ough his writings th- ive never known his condition."

accompanied me on Peace Pledge Un- ich occupied with pacifism before apathetic public. seemed like a prelu- d for the occasion; for me, but for

ot write only of peo- if his whole philosop- thought, human p- sayour, s, p- ments is a constan- ments consist not o- trained to use the- f, this basic necess- ion for war, that me- and eventually beco- much forgotten

he issue forthright- he unquestionable t- is not only a collect- out an organised b- ined, not for peace- -making, according- the science and art

of the "human arri- peal to all those m- use the "call to arm- a saying, as does th- ribly confident old m- abandonment of wa- it possible, and refu- n order to hasten

lay all blame for th- n politicians, but h- his belief that faith- le and a great illu- nee' carries no conv- me market. When- arguments is in progr- rtainty that war w- , not by an 'aggress- mythical personage, g- the competitors w- gin, and has the in-

ore than ninety year- which is the only g- not laying down th- g it out within the- years, is an outstand- d the voice with whic- to the continuation- h a triumphant, rine- ate of faith and hop- I be chicken-hearted- reward "indifferen- by failure."

rom page one

can the British peop- f Africa" brought in- ons: More education- t, etc. practical suggesti- nlu, who said that on- ds was mass educati- ple so as to chang- the Colonial people- the best thing of m- ment of real partici- dity among the Euro- peoples.

well organised m- on side were embel-



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4  
STAMFORD HILL 2262 (three lines)

6th February, 1953

### AMERICA RISKS WORLD WAR

ON June 27, 1950, Mr. Truman neutralised Formosa by preventing Chiang Kai-shek's troops from attacking Chinese territory as well as by affording protection to Formosa from attacks by the Chinese.

He felt this was necessary in order to make a clear differentiation between the war in Korea, waged by UNO and America's private war against the Peking Government of China.

Now, without consulting UNO, who are in theory sponsoring America's military activities in Korea, and even without consultation of America's allies in that war, General Eisenhower has decided that neutralisation of Formosa shall end.

Chiang Kai-shek is to be encouraged to attack the Chinese mainland.

In this manner, the nations, including Great Britain, who are associated with the United States in the United Nations fighting are also to be associated with the furthering of an American policy with which they are in disagreement.

The dangerous possibilities inherent in the American decision are apparent if we examine the likely consequences of the encouragement given to Chiang.

An attack by him clearly invites counter-measures by the Chinese. Possibly Chiang Kai-shek may consider an attack on the mainland too big a risk and too great an opportunity for desertion by his troops.

Let us assume that he seeks to invade and hold the nearby island of Hainan. The obvious military response for the Chinese would be an attack on the "Nationalist" citadel in Formosa, but here of course, Chiang will be defended by the power of America, and the grouping of China's allies in her support thus becomes a possibility with the terrible danger of world war that it will bring.

★

It should be noted, too, that just as the decision to bomb the great Yalu power stations was taken immediately after Lord Alexander's visit to Korea and without bringing him into consultation, so this decision has been taken immediately before the visit of Mr. Dulles to Europe so that on this point too there could be no consultation.

Is it likely that there will be much discussion at all during Mr. Dulles' visit to Europe? Having remarked in his first public pronouncement as Secretary of State that the United States had invested thirty thousand million dollars in Europe and that there were indications that they might not get what they were paying for, he began his trip. As his schedule provided for calls at seven European capitals in nine days, his business will be not so much to discuss as to let European statesmen understand what the USA wants for her dollars.

Every step such as that taken in regard to Formosa is a gamble with fate in which a miscalculation means world war and the wholesale annihilation that will accompany it. It is a gamble upon the greater restraint of the enemy powers for the avoidance of world war.

If, when it becomes possible to examine impartially the circumstances that led to the fighting in June, 1950, it proves that the United Nations were justified in charging the North Koreans—and the Communist world behind them—with aggression upon the South, then it will be shown that in that initial step it was the Communists who were guilty of risking world war.

That question has still to be settled, however. Every subsequent dangerous step that has carried with it this kind of risk has been taken by the Americans.

Thus it was General MacArthur who impelled the Chinese to intervene by his wanton carrying of his advance beyond the 38th Parallel; and it is clear that the Chinese took the kind of steps that every other nation depending for defence on its armed strength—including America and Great Britain—would have felt justified in taking. In doing so, however, the Chinese acted with considerable restraint. That we did not then fall into the abyss of World War III depended on the greater forbearance and sense of responsibility of China and Russia.

The same consideration applies to the bombing of the great power stations on the Yalu. And now, even more with the encouragement of Chiang Kai-shek to go ahead, the fate of the peoples of the world will depend in the greatest degree upon the restraint and sense of moral responsibility that may be displayed by the Chinese.

Up to the present, this has proved much greater than that manifested by the Americans, but it is a dangerous world in which the success of a nation's military activities depends upon its enemy having a greater sense of moral responsibility than its own.

### Korean prison camps

GENERAL CLARKE'S "intelligence report" reinforces the case we urged last week for an impartial investigation—neutral in relation to participation in the fighting—to be undertaken under the aegis of UN into the conduct of the Korean prison camps in American control.

This report alleges the discovery of the deliberate fostering by General Nam Il and Major-General Lee Sang Jo of mass mutinies and riots in the camps as a means of creating a new war front in the exploitation of a new era of total war.

This may be true, and something of this character is necessary if the unprecedented happenings that have besmirched the record of the first prisoner-of-war camps to be conducted on behalf of the United Nations Organisation are to be extenuated.

Nevertheless it must be remembered that it is the American Command, that is badly in need of justification in this respect, that has put out this report.

Only an impartial investigation can establish whether the report is true.

Where there has already been a degree of impartial investigation—inadequate it is true—the American command comes in for considerable censure.

We frankly do not expect that an examination of the facts will show that all the guilt is on one side in the terrible record of the prison camps, but wherever the guilt lies, we believe it to be important that the facts shall be established.

### Operation Smack

THE suggestion that "Operation Smack," the recent military action in Korea, had been staged for the benefit of generals and other spectators provoked a storm in the U.S. Congress and the removal of a high-ranking officer from his post.

The officer's subsequent re-instatement with the explanation that "it had all been a mistake" was an indication that the American command had been able to persuade Congress that the demonstration had been planned for tactical reasons.

Nevertheless, the very title given to the operation, the seven-page time-table bound in a special cover printed in three colours, and the fact that generals and war-correspondents did receive invitations to witness the action cannot but cause increasing concern about the conduct of operations in Korea.

Whatever may be the whole truth about Operation Smack, the continuation of the war in Korea involves a daily unnecessary loss of life for no good purpose whatsoever.

We would like to know whether, while the High Command is spending time on preparing elaborate programmes for tactical exercises anyone is spending as much time on trying to find a new basis for negotiation. The British Government should not lose sight for a single second of the urgent need for bringing the conflict in Korea to an end and should urge UN to appoint a mediator (as they have done

## AFTER DEREK BENTLEY

By Frank Dawtry

### A single event can change the law.

A small boy's death through ill-treatment by foster parents led to the service for deprived children now provided by the Children Act.

Perhaps the shock aroused by the execution of Derek Bentley will similarly lead to a realisation of the national responsibility in the matter of capital punishment.

THE possibility of the abolition of the death penalty was high in 1948 when the House of Commons carried an amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill which would have suspended the use of capital punishment for five years.

Immediately there was an emotional reaction, newspaper articles, letters to the editor—and the House of Lords was able to reverse the Commons' decision (which it would have done in any case) with a fine air of respecting public opinion.

The death penalty was not abolished—and murder has continued. Recently a policeman was shot, but the first wild indignation gave way to some concern about the individuals who shared the crime.

Here were no great he-men, hardened criminals or toughs, but a couple of ill-literate and weedy products of our age, youths acting in a big way to compensate themselves for feeling so small.

Questions were asked about their background and education.

Craig, in any case, was too young to be executed, and when Bentley was sentenced to death, the public conscience, and possibly that of the jury also, was eased by a recommendation to mercy and the clear opinion expressed by Lord Goddard that a diminished responsibility lay on Bentley.

That is why the news that there was to be no reprieve came as such a profound shock. Public opinion was undoubtedly roused but protests and petitions were in vain.

This time, Parliament was powerless to reflect public opinion and the Home Secretary could not be swayed by any temporary surge of feeling.

The only opinion of real weight in these times is that of those who are in any case opposed to capital punishment.

## BEHIND THE NEWS

in other cases), choose the best man for the purpose and assign to him the sole task of reconciling the conflicting points of view and bringing about an armistice at the earliest possible moment.

### Austria

THE Soviet Government has replied to the note from the Western Powers requesting an early conference on an Austrian Peace Treaty.

Discussions have dragged on for over six years. In an attempt to narrow the field of controversy, twelve months ago, the Western Powers proposed an "abbreviated treaty." The note of the Soviet Government while accepting the request for a resumption of talks in principle, suggests that the withdrawal of the "abbreviated treaty" is a necessary condition.

This insistence on conditions before conference makes a meeting impossible, particularly if they beg some of the questions at issue or bias subsequent discussion.

As in the Far East so in Europe, it becomes increasingly doubtful whether any of the particular problems can be solved in isolation.

Russia will naturally be reluctant to reach any agreement about Austria which would mean the ending of occupation and the withdrawal of her troops so long as the Western Powers plan to re-arm Western Germany.

Austria is too important a link in her line of communication with Germany.

An over-all Peace Conference should be called which should divide into three commissions, one dealing with Germany, another with Austria and a third with the Far East; each while tackling its special problem, should pay due regard to its relationship with the others.

Each commission should then report to the whole Conference which would have the responsibility for fitting the pieces of the jig-saw into their places and fashioning the whole pattern of peace.

### East-West Trade

AN increase in trade between East and West is one of the best ways of lessening tension.

Unfortunately restrictions such as those imposed by the US in the Battle Act and the fact that when total war is involved there are very few products which cannot be used for war preparation, have placed such limits on the exchange of goods between East and West that British imports from the USSR have been narrowed down to a small supply of timber and grain.

The Soviet Union has now proposed an East-West trade conference, and the

An awful responsibility is placed on the Home Secretary and his advisers by those who support the death penalty and it is dishonest for any of them to protest at the way that responsibility is used. But the opinion which would have saved Bentley had healthy features about it for it was based on the individual factors in the case.

It is useless, however, to support a bad law and ask for exceptions in its application.

If people would realise, as they did of Bentley, that every murderer is a person about whose life there are individual features and within whose make-up there must be aspects of hope as well as of despair, then the death penalty could hardly find support.

Perhaps, at least, the Bentley case will help to end the faith now placed in recommendations to mercy.

Of the 349 men whose sentences to death were accompanied by a recommendation to mercy in the first 49 years of this century, 103 were executed; 186 others were reprieved although there had been no such recommendation. (In the case of women, the recommendation was almost always endorsed.)

If of course such a recommendation had automatic effect, it would be a simple way of diminishing the responsibility of juries and the concern of the public. There can be no such lifting of the burden imposed by the death penalty.

Will people learn anything from the Bentley experience?

If they will learn to see that special circumstances surround every murder, they will protest at every execution until they realise that this is a matter about which compromise is false.

Those who want the death penalty retained cannot pick and choose the time of its application; if it disturbs them, they should press for its removal.

Those who think it a necessary evil should learn that 34 other countries and states manage without it and that abolition has nowhere led to a rise in the murder rate.

Meanwhile, those who are already opposed to the death penalty should redouble their efforts to secure its abolition. Nothing so disturbing and irrevocable should be in the hands of any human court.

Russian Minister in Berne has asked the Economic Commission to Europe to call a conference before its annual conference which is due to meet on March 3.

Dr. Myrdal is consulting the West European Governments and their replies are awaited with interest.

No special reason for this unexpected request from the Soviet Union has been revealed, but we hope that East-West trade talks will take place as soon as possible and they may result in a more general resumption of trade which in turn should create fresh opportunities for co-operation and understanding.

### Powerless goodwill

ARRANGEMENTS made in the Channel Islands with the German occupation forces during World War II for the joint use of church buildings have recently been disclosed by the Dean of Guernsey.

Writing of the Islanders' experiences in the Church Times on Jan. 23, 1953, points out that after the defeat of the Germans in May, 1945, two services were held in his church: one for the Islanders and one which the Germans were permitted to hold before they were taken prisoners.

### THIS IS HONG-KONG

Experienced and long-ago-disillusioned observers, soldiers and civilians are very certain that Port Said, Alexandria, Cairo, and the garrison towns of Germany have fallen far behind Hong Kong as a centre of unrestrained vice to which our young boys doing their Army service are exposed with small official regard for what it does to their lives.

The Army Medical Corps may care to correct us if we suggest that the incidence of venereal disease among service personnel in Hong Kong is higher than on any other station.

Mere boys are being exposed to the squalor of a city whose Saturday night street scenes make the heart sick in men who are not squeamish. The down town bar is there, not a quiet village pub. Vice is raging and an insolently flaunted industry that offers its services to mere boys who find their way into bars and brothels—and physical and moral disintegration.

Kowloon and Hong Kong are among Asia's windows on to the democratic freedom of the West. Very dirty windows.

—British Weekly, Jan. 29, 1953

The German chaplain left the following note in the church after his last service:

"I express my thanks for all the love of Christ which has come to us in this House of God during our stay in Guernsey. I pray that the Lord may lead the world towards the eternal goal of the Heavenly Kingdom and establish a peace higher than all human understanding. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and today and for ever."

"Thus," writes the Dean, "did the Church in the Channel Islands minister to friend and foe alike in strange and troublous times, witnessing once more to the apostolic words: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'"

What tragic testimony the incident and the comment are to the potentiality of good inherent in the Church and to the abyssal failure up to the present.

It was possible to make amicable arrangements in brotherly charity for facilities for Christian worship; it was not possible to forbid Christian men to kill each other.

### Trial run in S. Africa

THE South African general election is scheduled for April this year.

The session of Parliament which was convened last week will be the last before the electors are asked to choose between two not-so-different brands of racial politics.

The government has elected to turn the present session into a trial run for the parties, as a forum for election speeches and a platform for manoeuvres calculated to damage the Opposition.

The United Party has decided not to oppose in principle the government's Public Safety Bill which has been tabled. This measure empowers the Governor-General to declare by proclamation that a state of emergency exists within the Union (or in any part of it) and thereafter to make regulations "such as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for providing for the safety of the public and public order including the making of orders, rules or bye-laws and the imposition of penalties for contraventions"—including the confiscation of any goods, property or instruments by means of which the offence has been committed.

The United Party decision only to oppose this monstrous Bill in detail and not in principle, it is reported, arises from the fear that the government is laying a propaganda trap in order to brand the opposition as being opposed to law and order and supporting the defiance campaign, which is planning renewed acts of resistance to coincide with the passage of the Public Safety Bill.

The Government is said to have prepared plans for police and military action, if necessary, to meet the next moves by the defiance leaders. They have also tabled another Bill which would make propaganda to encourage the violation of the law illegal.



# A fate that must be prevented at all costs

FROM the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope there is seething conflict, unrest and agitation. Its roots are racial.

The colour bar issue, which has been hanging fire for several decades, has suddenly flared up into a world problem with its focal point in Africa.

In North, South, Central, and East Africa it is a red-hot issue, and a wrong step taken in any one of these areas will have repercussions in all the others.

One of the immediate decisions Britain will have to make concerns the Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

This decision will be important, for the White populations in them realise that this is their last chance of ensuring White domination in those areas.

The African Government of the Gold Coast has set a time limit to their further advance towards self or White Government.

Kenya's attempt to advance in that direction was scotched twenty years ago. Will Central Africa succeed where East Africa failed?

## Extending repressive rule

As the result of keen agitation on the part of the White settlers of Kenya, the Labour Government of 1929 appointed a Select Committee of Commons and Lords to enquire into the case for closer union between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

That Committee was the first official body to invite Africans to come to this country to give evidence. As a member of the Select Committee I followed the Kenya press during that period, and this convinced me that the intention was to extend the more repressive Kenya rule to the other territories, and then to work for self-government.

There is ample evidence that the aim in Central Africa is much the same, while in Kenya at this moment a powerful agitation is taking place to put an end to Colonial Office rule.

If Federation is sanctioned it is safe to say that much British, and possibly American, money will be poured into Central Africa to expand its mineral production industries and its agriculture. Some ancillary industries may also be developed.

These will all be on Western or highly mechanistic lines, with coloured people doing all the heavy, unskilled work and involving the complete breaking up of tribal village life and their permanent separation from the soil and its cultivation.

Such a procedure would be fatal, and ought to be prevented at all costs.

New mushroom towns, closely packed with people who have been accustomed to the open country and tribal habits, whose lives will be divided between earning money and spending it, with no cultural interests or opportunities, no responsible social

## ESCAPADE

A PLAY is now running in London under the title of *Escapade* in which the chief character on the stage is a pacifist author who is a leading figure in an Authors' Peace Petition.

But the most important character in the story is the eldest of his three sons, all of whom are at boarding school. He and his brothers, sceptical of the value of peace petitions, decide to make pacifism headline news by a dramatic act.

They borrow an aeroplane and the eldest boy eventually arrives in Venice, where the United Nations are meeting, in order to deliver in person a message from the whole school to the effect that the boys do not see why they should be expected to kill other boys and that that will hold when they have left school.

One of the most interesting parts of the play is the fact that although it largely centres round the boys and they are indispensable to the story, none of them appear on the stage from start to finish. That is why I mention *Escapade* here.

The people whom we only know by name and hardly, if ever, see, are just as indispensable to our story. But each has a special part to play in the constructive peace movement.

One quite indispensable part is providing the money without which the witness and propaganda of the Peace Pledge Union cannot reach the public. Some prefer to remain anonymous, others put their names to cheques or notes of encouragement which accompany their gifts.

Though we may often never see them their names mean much to us. Though off-stage in one sense they remain the indispensable characters in the play.

If you feel that you cannot have a speaking part, will you join the east off-stage? You know how to do that, don't you?

Stuart Morris,  
General Secretary.

PPU Headquarters Fund aim for 1953 £1,000; average per month £84. Amount received in January £20.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endeavour Street, W.C.1.

activities, yet surrounded by people anxious to make profit from providing the lures of self-indulgence—altogether a life almost completely devoid of social content under a form of industrial feudalism. This is a fate that must be prevented at all costs.

But we must not stop there; certainly pacifists should not.

What is the good life for Africans? What do they think, and what do we think?

They have knowledge that we haven't, and we have knowledge that they haven't.

What is needed, therefore, is sympathetic discussion, long and serious discussion, between them and us, and an attempt to decide on ends and the means to achieve them.

Above all things it is important to hold on to the social bases of their tribal life and advance from there by incorporating new elements, one by one.

Their needs are simple, especially as they live in a warm climate, and these can be

by

## WILFRED WELLOCK

met for a long time to come by means of agriculture and handicrafts.

With the aid of multi-purpose co-operative societies they would be able to procure most of the tools and buildings they needed, and by the time they needed financial assistance they would be better able to take control of the means of their personal and social betterment.

The introduction of Basic Education in their schools would be a great help. So would the introduction of Gandhian Constructive Workers from India who have knowledge of the wide range of village and home handicrafts taught, for instance, by the All India Village Industries Association.

We must abandon the idea that the pattern of Western industrialism is valid for all peoples in all circumstances. To adopt it in Africa would be in my judgement be little short of criminal. We must also resist all attempts to make the economy of Africa dovetail into our own. A reasonable self-sufficiency is the right and natural economy of every people.

What a grand field of social missionary work in civilisation this opens up for the aspiring youth of our age!

I am sure there are many who would like to enter it if they knew of it. Let us tell them.

But first let us say "No" to the Federation proposals.

# TO THE BEST IN MEN

By John Kay

War and Human Values, by Francis E. Pollard. With prefatory memoir by Robert S. W. Pollard. Peace News, 2s. 6d.

IT was a happy thought that inspired the re-print of this lecture—an indispensable half crown's worth for every peace worker.

At a time when the very word "Peace" seems to have lost all clear meaning, and when the peace movement itself has been thrown into confusion by widely publicised activities using the same name, Francis Pollard's lecture is of especial help in two ways.

Firstly, as all who know the author will expect, it is clear, precise, cogent and logical. It faces every difficulty and every counter argument with eyes wide open, and both its analysis and its conclusions have passed the test of the close scrutiny of his keen and penetrating mind.

Secondly, we are recalled to take our stand firmly on moral principles. War is condemned because "for certain purposes and against certain people, the ordinary moral law is repealed . . . The basic capacities of human nature are not so much let loose . . . as developed and equipped for organised use in the service of destruction."

The responsibility is placed squarely on the individual: if the horrors of war occur "it will be because men are willing to inflict them . . . they are the acts of responsible individuals, whose conduct is under

the jurisdiction of the moral world."

In dealing with the moral law in its application to inter-group relations, the issue of "reciprocity," (what is the good of behaving decently towards Russia if Russia does not behave similarly towards us?) is

In "Memoir of Francis E. Pollard" at the beginning of the book, Robert Pollard gives a brief account of his father's life first as a teacher at Friends' School, Bootham, York and later as full time peace worker for the Society of Friends. By quotations from Francis Pollard's many writings he illustrates his views on a wide variety of subjects: the contribution of a Quaker to political life; pacifism as a policy; lessons on war and internationalism for Quaker schools; proportional representation; and perhaps most important of all, the use of the intellect in religion. It is, says Robert Pollard "to continue this service of God and the work that lay nearest to Francis Pollard's heart—the promotion of peace—that his family have re-issued this book on War and Human Values."

tackled in a fine passage: are we only "to be patient when there is nothing to endure and to forgive when there is no one engaged in doing us wrong?"

And so we reach the final affirmation—the true basis of our positive pacifist faith: "The growth of human unity depends on the appeal to the best in men . . . If when the stress comes we postpone all the most unifying influences, until some more convenient season, there seems no force left at work to bring that season into existence."

## Recent pamphlets

Russian Journey, by Ray Lamb, 48vo 24pp and cover (Friends Hall, London E.17).

It seems as though at least one member of every group that visits Russia writes a descriptive pamphlet. Usually they are obviously partisan or tediously uninformative or both, but this one is different. It is by far the best of its genre that I have yet read, and may be commended to anyone who is anxious to know what impressions present-day Russia would make on an intelligent, sympathetic, but quite unprejudiced visitor who is not a specialist.

MP in New China, by Geoffrey Bing, QC, MP (British China Friendship Assoc. 4d.), is quite different. It is an enthusiastic and very informative explanation of the achievements and policy of the Communist regime in China, supported occasionally by illustrations drawn from a recent visit. T.R.D.

## KOREA

Men who lived ten centuries ago  
(Who weren't either Christian or civilized  
As all we in the Western World are now)  
Knew better than we and our statesmen  
Know today.

For who are the great men of these times,  
Our leaders, whom we most honour?  
—The be-medalled, be-ribboned  
Field Marshals and Generals,  
Our commanders in War!

Yet ten centuries ago a man wrote:  
"A single general's reputation  
Is made out of ten thousand corpses."

Our generals' reputations are made  
Of the corpses of millions.

Strike more medals for killers!  
Total up their whole slaughter  
And boast of the total!  
Issue them a new ribbon for each five  
hundred thousand,  
With bars to their medals for the children  
they've murdered!

RUPERT MUNDAY

From "A Protest in the Sixth Year of Ch'ien Fu." The writer died A.D. 920

# Congregationalism and Christian Pacifism

by the Rev.

CLAUD COLTMAN

who declares

"Congregationalists should have learned to have neither use nor fear for the sword or oppression."

CONGREGATIONALISM would seem to be specially destined to be the spearhead of the Christian Church's return to its first pacifist attitude towards war.

For it is a spiritual movement within the Church which aims at the recovery of New Testament standards and practices in both worship and life, which asserts the freedom and the obligation of the individual conscience to adopt those standards, and holds that in pursuit of them there must be "no tarrying for any."

Congregationalism is based upon spiritual principles which transcend all nationalisms and reject all State authority over religion alike in doctrine, conduct and worship.

Then how do we account for Oliver Cromwell—our outstanding independent?

## Cromwell—tragic example

Cromwell is the most pitiful and tragic example in English history of the futility of the sword and of the grim nemesis which pursues all those who justify the means by the end.

The Reformation in England went much further than the Tudor monarchs intended. The "Puritan" movement, which sprang out of the Reformation, aimed at removing from Christian worship all elements not in accordance with the usages of the New Testament Church.

The "Separatist" movement, going further still, sought to separate the Church from all subservience to, and even connection with, the State.

It denied the authority of the monarch in matters of religion, and called upon all would-be Christians to "come ye out and be ye separate" from the world and the (unfaithful) Church around them.

These Separatists were the first Independents (or Congregationalists) and held that such groups of true believers were under the authority of Christ alone. They were angrily persecuted by Queen Elizabeth I who mercilessly hanged their leaders.

Persecution failed in its purpose. Separatism and the demand for religious freedom grew.

Under the early Stuarts oppression intensified until England grew too hot to hold them. Eventually a famous company of Independents, the Pilgrim Fathers, took ship, the Mayflower, across the perilous Atlantic, to find in the New World a free if unknown land where they could live a Christian life after their hearts' desire.

There these daring pioneers laid the founda-

tion of the Republic of America. That is one way of securing freedom—to flee from tyranny to a land where one's ideals can be pursued without molestation. It is a fruitful expedient.

Cromwell pursued another method. In his resistance to Stuart oppression he drew the sword. "Stand and fight" was his principle. And magnificently he succeeded—as far as the sword ever can succeed. He was England's greatest soldier and perhaps the greatest Englishman. He routed the Royalist armies and brought the King, Charles I, to the scaffold. Victory followed victory until he became England's "High Protector."

Then the devil, as he always does to those who do evil that good may come, sent in his grim bill. Cromwell, to his consternation and misery, found that he was driven to become a military dictator. What he had won by the sword he could hold only by the sword. The freedom he had set out to defend, he ended by destroying.

Parliament he purged and dissolved by sword and musket. "Take away that haughty," he cried, pointing to the Speaker's Mace! (Yes, it was Cromwell, not Charles I, who said that. "How the ghost of Charles must have chuckled," says Maurice Ashley, in his notable "Penguin.")

## Purges and packed juries

Cromwell put the country under the rule of eleven Major-Generals who governed with the necessary totalitarian machinery of purges, packed juries and newspaper suppression. In his wholesale massacres of Irish garrisons he sank to atrocities more barbarous than any perpetrated by the Stuarts, and "the curse of Cromwell" still darkens Anglo-Irish relations.

In the end his good intentions of tolerance and liberty failed, his work collapsed, his "reign" miserably petered out and with a sigh of relief the people welcomed another Stuart back to the throne.

Persecution was immediately revived and intensified against the Independents, Baptists, Quakers and other Non-conformists. A determined effort was made to stamp them out. For over 25 years they were hunted, imprisoned, pilloried, sent as slaves to the Barbados.

In this third phase of their struggle, they just endured the persecution. They showed how "neither to fight nor flee." Without violent defence or retaliation they stood and suffered, until by their patient endurance of ill, they had converted their persecutors and enemies to respect and tolerance.

By their suffering they won the great cause of liberty, not for themselves alone but for all Englishmen.

This classic experience of Congregationalism should be for all time a vindication of the Christian way by which ill-will, persecution and tyranny are met and overcome. Congregationalists should have learned to have neither use nor fear for the sword or oppression. Their understanding of Christian pacifism, arrived at by the hard way of experience, is supported by their basic principles.

## Opportunity for leadership

First, they make the New Testament their only standard of faith and conduct, and they do not have to read far in its pages to find that war is utterly contrary to the mind of Christ. They attach little weight to ecclesiastical councils which set aside the New Testament and make of non-effect the Word of God by their tradition of "just" wars.

Secondly, the freedom which they claim in following and obeying Christ makes them proof against the summons of any "magistrate" that they should "bear arms," when Christ Himself so clearly bids them to "put up the sword."

Thirdly, they are not free to stifle their consciences until "the main body of Christendom" has come to share their convictions. They do not flinch from separation from their fellow-Christians when conscience calls. If Christ beckons, they must follow Him still, "without tarrying for any."

Thus we may look to Congregationalists, taught alike by their principles and their experience, to inspire the Christian hosts, until armed only with "the whole armour of God," they lead the nations away from the edge of the pit to a world where war is unknown.







# Luthuli

(Continued from page five)

ment. The initiative which the Communists and fellow-travellers had at the beginning now appears to have passed out of their hands into the hands of a new kind of leadership, a leadership coming as much from the bottom as the top.

The Christians in Port Elizabeth; Patrick Duncan and other whites in Johannesburg and Cape Town; Manilal Gandhi; and now Luthuli!

This year the resistors will face the most trying phase of their crusade. Minister Swart has threatened dire punishment if the protest goes on.

Men of great strength and faith will be necessary to guide the movement now, and the Africans have chosen Luthuli. It is an action to make every pacifist glow.

## Significant continent

For let us clearly understand, this is no small thing. Africa may quite easily emerge as the crucial territory in a crucial age. The direction which it points may well be the direction which our century will follow. We have had The East and The West, the Left and the Right. Africa may yet give us a third political dimension, a New Way.

It is said that the hour produces the man. If there is to be a New Way, it will require a new method. I believe Luthuli knows that method; it is the method that has won my heart and the hearts of many other white men in South Africa by his practice of it; it is the method of love, of non-violence.

"It would be a great source of inspiration and encouragement to Chief Luthuli if pacifists and well-wishers were to write to him to congratulate him on his election to the Presidency of African National Congress and his fine stand over the dismissal from his chieftainship. He may be written to at: 2 and 3 New Court Chambers, 44 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

# CRUCIFIED KOREA

TO THE EDITOR

I FULLY agree with your editorial "Crucified Korea."

It is a tragedy that the USSR and the Peking Government refused to compromise and accept the Indian proposals for bringing about a cease-fire in Korea.

I do, however, share many of Dora Holden's doubts (P.N. January 23) and cannot agree that the continuation of the war is wholly the responsibility of the Communists and that the non-Communist powers have done everything humanly possible to help to bring about a cease-fire, either at Lake Success or in Korea itself.

I. F. Stone's book "The Hidden History of the Korean War" shows how vital it is to examine the events taking place in Korea itself at the time when ending the war was under discussion in the United Nations.

The UN General Assembly was discussing Korea during November and December 1952 and it was on December 14 that Chou En-lai's note, rejecting the Indian proposals, was handed to Mr. Lester Pearson, President of the General Assembly.

On looking through some papers covering this period I noted the following:

Nov. 7: Dr. Syngman Rhee issued a statement of his policy saying "the stalemate in the war and the race should be ended. We should drive to the North" (Manchester Guardian 8.11.52).

Nov. 17: An intelligence survey of the US Far Eastern Command said "Many areas of North Korea and most civilians would welcome a UN offensive to terminate the war" (MG 18.11.52).

Nov. 18: The South Korean Government issued a statement of its policy which called for the breaking off of the armistice talks; a new drive to the Manchurian border; ramification of Korea by fall; the dissolution of the North Korean Government and the amalgamation of North Korea with South Korea (MG 19.11.52).

Nov. 26: General Nam Il protested to the US that on this date UN bombers had bombed POW camps at Kangdong and Suncheon in North Korea (Wilfred Burchett in the Daily Worker).

Nov. 29: US Superfortresses attacked Siniuju and Uiju; "the third biggest

night raid of the Korean war" (Observer 30.11.52).

Dec. 2: Syngman Rhee stated he would advise an early offensive to the Manchurian and Soviet borders, when he met Eisenhower (MG 3.12.52).

Dec. 2: Peking Radio claimed that on Nov. 26, 32 POWs had been killed and wounded on Koge island, making the total for October and November 542.

Dec. 4: New China News Agency claimed that on December 3 US B-26 bombers had bombed Antung in Manchuria.

Dec. 10: UN bombers attacked Hungnam on the North Korean border 50 miles from Soviet frontier (MG 11.12.52).

Dec. 13: American planes alleged, by Communists to have attacked an armistice delegation on the Pyongyang-Kaesong road (Wilfred Burchett, Daily Worker).

Dec. 14: 14 US Superfortresses attacked Siniuju on the Yalu River (M.G. 15.12.52).

Dec. 15: 82 Civilian Communist internees killed and 120 wounded at Pongam island prison camp (MG 15.12.52).

Dec. 15: International Committee of the Red Cross disclose that in May 1952 it accused the UN Command of violating the Geneva Convention on POWs at Koge and other camps (MG 15.12.52).

Later, the Manchester Guardian (Jan. 1) reported General Nam Il as stating that, to date, 3,959 Communist POWs had been killed or wounded in UN camps.

The Chinese Peoples' Government is still kept out of UNO whilst Chiang Kai-shek's men continue to occupy China's seat. Jessie Street recently reported in Peace News that the UN Assembly had again rejected a proposal to allow North Korea to state their views, although the South Koreans had this opportunity.

Furthermore the United States is continuing to inflame the situation in the Far East by its continued support for Chiang's "regime" on Formosa and is hinting at intervention in Viet-nam to help the French to defeat the forces of the Chin Minh.

Against such a background of events can it be wondered that the Chinese and North Koreans pay little respect to the resolutions passed by an organisation from which they are banned? Surely their decisions are not unaffected by the provocative actions of the UN military leaders in Korea and US policies elsewhere?

Pacifists want the war ended without further delay. Why not then an immediate cease-fire, implying no more napalm raids on Korean towns and villages; no more UN air attacks on the Yalu River and beyond and no ground offensives by either side? The disagreements over the interpretation of the Geneva Convention, relating to the repatriation of POWs should continue in some committee after the cease-fire, not be introduced into the cease-fire proposals at all, if one side intends to reject them for this reason.

When the UN General Assembly meets again cannot it do this, even if it means the Western Powers accepting some resolution similar in wording to Mr. Vyshinsky's proposal? Or has the cold war so conditioned everyone, Communists and Non-Communists alike, that proposals advanced by the "other side" must be rejected automatically, even if they are sensible and better than a continuation of the war?

RONALD W. HUZARD.

46 Onslow Gardens, N.10.

## Campaign Corner

### ON THE RACK!

DISPLAY on bookstalls and in newsagents is absolutely vital for newspapers.

Glance down the news rack at your local W. H. Smith's or other newsagent. Is Peace News there? If not, here's the way to remedy the omission.

As shops are nowadays not permitted to return unsold copies they need a personal guarantee to buy left-overs. Ask the manager to order, say three copies regularly and give them a good display. Call every weekend to settle up, if necessary, for unsold copies from the previous week's issue (or have them charged to your account and given away). If the initial copies are sold have the order increased.

Is it worthwhile, you ask? Miss Vereker of Chelsea reports twelve sold most weeks at South Kensington station bookstall, which started from scratch a few months ago. A number of Central London bookshops sell large quantities each week. Shops all over the country display the paper, but only a small proportion of those which might do so. In Central and West London districts Miss Vereker offers to approach all the station bookstall managers if other readers will take over the weekly calls. Seize this opportunity, send us your name and station today. Or send a contribution to subsidise our sales efforts.

Whether in London or elsewhere, this is important peace work which everyone should do. Tackle your newsagent now, and tell us how you get on. H.F.M.

Circulation last week 11,400 copies.

### "COSH BOY"

"Cosh Boy," a Daniel Angel Production, with James Kenney and Joan Collins. London Pavilion.

THIS is the picture the public has been waiting for. Coming at the peak of the post-war juvenile crime wave and so closely following on the execution of Derek Bentley, "Cosh Boy" will draw the crowds. It is the tale of a really bad boy who organises a gang of less bad (or less "clever") boys. They begin by hitting old ladies over the head with "coshes" and end with guns in their hands. They select the victims for themselves—for ready cash.

So far as it goes, "Cosh Boy" is well-constructed and sensitive; and unlike certain U.S. productions, does not gloat over the brutalities depicted. Its attitude towards authority—police, magistrates and probation officers—is respectful. [Authority, it implies, does everything possible for these boys, but despite that, look what happens!]

Films such as "Cosh Boy," seem to take place in a social vacuum, however meticulous and true the background details—for example, Hammersmith Bridge Road and the ruins of a bombed Church. They are merely good when they could be truly significant, if not as art, then as social comment. Are the hands of film-makers tied?

Hermione Baddeley as a redoubtable "Mrs. Collins" provides the very necessary relief in this carefully-acted but not inspired production. Although the real issues are singularly avoided, it may cause a few people to think about the nature of violence, individual and collective.

Robert Greacen.

The foremost TU weekly published in this country

## RAILWAY REVIEW

Leads the trade union movement in the intelligent assessment of industrial and political problems.

Journal of the NUR, it may be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls at 3d.

Written 25 years ago, re-issued now because its message is still unheeded

## WAR AND HUMAN VALUES

BY FRANCIS E. POLLARD  
Chairman, Friends' Peace Committee 1931-1941

The Mertens Lecture for 1928, to which is added a new account of the author's life and writings by his son Robert S. W. Pollard

2s. 6d. (postage 4d.)

164 pp. - Board covers - Portrait frontispiece

From all booksellers, or

## HOUSMANS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

**Saturday, February 7**  
RUGBY: 3 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Regent Pl. Joyce Stewart: "Do the Churches want Peace?" Fol.

**Sunday, February 8**  
LONDON, S.W.1: 3.15 p.m.: Denison Ho., 206 Vauxhall Bridge Rd. (Nr. Victoria St.). Universalist Service. Donald Lightowler. "What is Man?" Religious Commission, PPU.

**Monday, February 9**  
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.45 p.m.: (Hillgate). Ivan Gelfen, prospective Labour candidate for Newcastle North. "Foreign Policy" PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m.:** Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Kenneth Ingram, "The Soviet Union and Peace—impressions from a recent visit to the USSR." Birmingham Peace Council.

**Tuesday, February 10**  
BLACKBURN: 7.30 p.m.: Jubilee Hall. Fred G. Barton. "South Africa—Colour and Politics and You." Blackburn Pacifist Club.

**BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.:** Friends Mtg. Ho., Havelock St. The Rev. Clifford Macquarie. "My Visits to USA and USSR." Fol.

**HUNTINGDON: 7.30 p.m.:** The Methodist Ch. Hall, High St. Hugh Faulkner. "Serving for Myself in Russia." Fol.

**LEDS: 7.30 p.m.:** 40 Deanswood Drive. Discussion of Orchard Lea Papers. PPU.

**Wednesday, February 11**  
SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Ho., Clifford Macquarie. "My Visits to USA and the USSR." Fol.

**Thursday, February 12**  
HARFORD: 7 p.m. St. Paul's Methodist Church. Harner St. Hugh Faulkner. "Serving for Myself in Russia." Fol.

**STOCKTON-ON-TES: 7.30 p.m.:** St. Andrew's Methodist Ch., Dovecot St. Clifford Macquarie. "My Visits to Russia." Fol.

**Friday, February 13**  
LONDON: 7.45 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Beaumont Pl. Mrs. M. M. Lewis. "The Work of the British Council for Aid to Refugees." Chair: Richard Harland, M.A. Fol. IVSP.

**KINGSLY: 7 p.m.:** Friends Mtg. Ho., Connie Jones and Joyce Keeling. PPU. Fol.

**Saturday, February 14**  
LONDON, W.C.2: 3 p.m.: Westminster Friends Mtg. Ho., St. Martin's Lane (near Coliseum). London Area Annual General Meeting followed by tea and "Annual Get Together." PPU.

**Tuesday, February 16**  
RICHMOND: 8 p.m.: Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., E. Sheen. Mr. H. Barsill, local delegate to Vienna Peace Congress. PPU.

**Saturday, February 21**  
ULVERSTONE: 3 p.m.: Friends mtg. room, New Ch. Ln. Quiz on "Constructive Peace-making." Area Quarterly mtg. Lakeland PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.:** Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Business mtg. and discussion. Religious Commission, PPU.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

**LATEST TIME for copy:** Monday morning before publication.

**TERMS:** Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for old prices. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

**DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS** are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

**MEETINGS**

**ACTON TOWN HALL, Uxbridge Rd.** Wednesday, February 18, 7.45 p.m. Report back on Vienna Congress. Professor Bernard. Mrs. Atkinson, Mr. Butler, Secretary. Mr. B. Youngdass, 33 Park View, London, W.3.

**INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath.** Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

**KING'S WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube.** Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claude M. Colman, M.A. B.Litt.

**ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED**

**DERBYSHIRE HILLS, Vegetarian Guest House.** Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock, Tel. Ambergate 44.

**DORSET COAST.** On high ground, overlooking Weymouth Bay. Luxury four berth caravan. Color and light. From 1 p.m. Send for brochure. Grey, Buckland Newton, Dorchester.

**HOMELY ACCOMMODATION** and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340 T. and H. Shaver, 27 Hamilton Park, N.5.

**NORFOLK COAST.** Quiet village, unrestricted sands, bracing air, near broad beaching, fishing, bird-watching. Restful informal holidays, good food (vegetarian optional). Stannard, Sea Palling, Norwich.

**YUGOSLAV HOLIDAYS** from £27 10s. (15 days incl.). Also Israel, Africa, and countries in Europe. Programme Easter-October. Holiday Friendship Service, 5 Goodwin Court, London, W.2. Send name.

**WYV NOT** visit the Lake District for your holiday this year? Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, Keswick offers magnificent views, attractive food and comfort in friendly atmosphere. H. and C. all bedrooms. Vegans catered for. Anne Horner. Phone 508.

**PERSONAL**

**AUREY BROCKLEHURST,** watch-maker and jeweller, specialist in high quality repair work. Wide range of new watches, rings, etc. Old gold and silver purchased. 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. Tel. ELSING 351.

**THE BAPTIST Pacifist Fellowship** invites your support. For details of membership write Rev. Leslie Warship, 63 Loughborough Road, Quorn, Leicestershire.

**FOOD-REFORMER, COUNTRY** lover, non-sectarian Christian, invites correspondence young middle-aged folk. Box 491.

**OBITUARY**

**ROBERTS:** On January 24 at his home, 21 Henslow Lane, Hitchin very peacefully after a long illness, William Corbett Roberts, aged, in his eightieth year, Foundation member of PPU and PPU. Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, 1917-1939. Letters welcomed.

**LITERATURE, &c.**

**QUAKERISM.** Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

**HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP** gives prompt postal service for all your book requirements. Entire profits go to Peace News. Enquiries welcome, please send a.s.p. for latest list. Housmans Bookshop (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Tel. STA 9262.

**SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED**

**A RELIABLE** duplicating/typewriting service. Experienced secretaries. Mabel Eyles, 385, Hornsey Rd., N.18. ARCHWAY 1765. Ex. 1.

**QUOTATIONS SUPPLIED** for all classes of building and decorations. War damage schedules prepared and executed. Sub-contract brickwork undertaken. Charles A. Green, Builder and Decorator, 107 Victoria Road, Wood Green, N.22. ROW 8700.

**COLOURED PART-TIME** (evening) student. Inter U.S., urgently requires work. London area. Anything considered. Box 492.

**SITUATIONS VACANT**

**PEACE WORK** is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. and Cook, Stationers', Finsbury Park, N.4.

**FOR SALE & WANTED**

**HARDY'S:** GOOD quality blue pastel paper. Per 120: 11" x 17" 2s. 6d.; 13" x 10", 3s. 6d.; Carbon paper 8" x 4", 50 sheets 3s. 6d., just paid S.A.E. all samples, stationery, John Milles, Whiteway, Glos.

**DEVON SMALL-HOLDING.** 16 acres. Good accommodation including self-contained lounge let furnished in summer. Large good barn with stable and chicken. Other buildings. £1,500 freehold for quick sale. Mortgages if required. Box 493.

**PARTNERSHIP**

**7 MILLER S.W.** of Cambridge. Partner wanted pig and poultry small holding. Large allocation. Piece of rich land, suitable strawberry and cucumbers. Self-contained detached modernised accommodation. Sitting-room, bedroom, kitchen, bath, water, electric light and power. Capital required: £750. Box 474.

**MICHELLE LANKOON**

**REYNALD BAILEY,** Naturalist and psychiatrist, 134 Hoppers Road, N.31. Palmers Green 9865. He appoints

**WAR RESISTERS' International** welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged old mail covers. Please send to W.R. Lankoon House, 28 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.



# WHY WE MUST LEAVE EGYPT

## Plight of men in Canal Zone

**HOW LONG ARE WE GOING TO KEEP OUR ARMY IN EGYPT?** This question was put to the Secretary of State for War in the debate on the Supplementary Estimates for the army, and there was no satisfactory answer.

Colonel Hutchison, who wound up for the War Office, excused himself from giving an answer on the ground that this was a question of high policy and not one that he could answer.

But the question remains, and the sooner Labour's Front Bench takes up this question and demands that a definite date be fixed for withdrawal the better it will be for British prestige in Egypt and the Middle East.

For it is generally recognised now that in view of the recent events in Egypt our continuation in Egypt without the good will of the Egyptian Government is impossible.

The opinion of the military men on the spot is that we had better withdraw with a good grace and something of the same view has been expressed by the British Ambassador in Moscow. American opinion is also strongly against a policy of a British strong hand in Egypt and there has been no response to Winston's suggestion that the Americans should take over some share of the responsibility in that quarter of the world.

### Prisoners in the desert

The case for withdrawal was lucidly stated by Richard Crossman in last week's debate and there has been no real attempt to answer his arguments.

We have 80,000 men locked up in Egypt at a considerable expense to the British taxpayer; they live under heart-breaking conditions amongst a hostile civil population, they see no useful purpose in being kept prisoners in this inhospitable desert and the labour for the camp is now being done by labourers imported at considerable expense to the British taxpayer from the island of Mauritius.

And this is at a time when we are facing a financial crisis; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is sending out SOS's for economy and when we are short of labour for food production and for the industries upon which our economic life depends.

### Why a Middle East Base?

When this overwhelming case is made out against the continued occupation and the waste of our money what is the reply?

The reply usually takes the form of another question: "If we are to leave Egypt where are we to have a base in the Middle East?"

But why do we need a base in the Middle East? We went to Egypt as part of a drive for Imperialist conquest which very few people now support.

Of course I exclude Mr. Churchill. In these matters he still lives in the last century. When he thinks about Egypt it is in terms of the charge of the Lancers at Omdurman. He is probably as opposed to leaving Egypt as he was to our leaving India.

Yet it is now generally accepted that our abandonment of Imperialist rule in India was a wise policy and that we are more respected in India than we were when we had a garrison there to keep her down.

In pre-war days the argument for the occupation of Egypt was that it was the high road to India.

But the Suez Canal is no longer our particular private highway to anywhere.

The Australians and the New Zealanders are not there, and there is no reason for believing that if our forces left Egypt the Egyptians would close the Suez Canal.

### Vulnerable to air attack

The military reasons that held good during the last war no longer hold water. We do not need an army there to drive out Italians or Germans, and it has been pointed out that in the event of a war with Russia this army and its stores concentrated in a small area are very vulnerable to air attack.

If the strategy that we are now to consider is of either an offensive or defensive war with Russia the base in Egypt is irrelevant. Indeed the longer we stay there and stir up Egyptian feeling against us the more likely we are to be playing into Russian hands in the Middle East.

There have been certain suggestions that the British base could be moved into other countries in the Middle East, into Israel, Syria, Jordan or Iraq. But there is no sign that any of these countries are anxious to have a big British military base in their territory.

It would be a potential threat to their national independence, it would mean the active hostility of Russia, it would be a source of danger and not of security.

One could imagine the reaction in the USSR if we tried to build up a new military base any nearer to Russian territory in addition to the air bases we already have there.

In the book that the Minister of War

wrote for the Tory Party prior to the election he explained that

"If War came, our bases in the Middle East would enable British and American strategic air forces to strike deep into Russia."

Any establishment of a military base in Iraq would probably result in some Russian counter move which would make things more difficult and complicated than ever.

So if we carry Mr. Crossman's argument to its logical conclusion our policy should be not to dream of transferring the base and air commitments, financial and otherwise, to some other danger spot, but to bring our armies home.

The Labour opposition should demand that a date be fixed and we should inform the Egyptian government of our intentions.

We left India with dignity, we left Persia in a hurry, when it was clearly impossible to stay in either country without risking a war.

Our days in Egypt are obviously over and there is no point in staying where we are not wanted, and when the manpower that is rotting there is so urgently wanted in our own country.

## Africans' high principled method

### Continued from page one

dorsed collective punishment in East Africa.

She suggested that missionaries should be sent to address themselves to the white settlers in South Africa.

### "Terrible human indignity"

In appealing for money, Victor Gollancz said that this was one of the very rare occasions when by our action we could directly help to lessen, not only human suffering, but what was worse, "terrible human indignity."

"This movement which we are asking

## NINE MONTHS FOR OBJECTOR Sheriff overlooked Clause 17

**TWENTY-YEAR-OLD** Peace Pledge Union member, George Fleming of Edinburgh, was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on January 22, after he had refused to undertake military service.

George Fleming, who pleaded guilty to not attending medical examination for national service, had already been fined £1 at Edinburgh Sheriff Court on January 9 and ordered to submit to examination on that day.

On January 22, the Court was told that he had refused to carry out that instruction.

Mr. J. Houston, Deputy Fiscal added: "Accused, I understand, is a conscientious objector, but is not registered as such. He does not belong to any religious body but belongs to an organisation known as the Peace Pledge Union, which is not a religious or a political body."

George Fleming—who was refused recognition as a CO by both local and appellate tribunals—was told by Sheriff William Garrett:

"I am only concerned with the law and not with any conscientious objections you may have."

### Sheriff had doubts

The Sheriff appeared to be in some doubt as to the implications of the Criminal Justice Act, which laid down certain regulations affecting offenders under 21.

He was told by the Deputy Fiscal that similar cases had been before the Court and that Fleming had already appeared before two tribunals.

The severity of the sentence caused considerable surprise among those attending the hearing.

Our legal correspondent writes: This is a case when the Court's attention could properly be drawn to the decision of the Court of Criminal Appeal on July 7, 1952, with regard to the case of Laurence Robinson.

In that case a sentence of four months' imprisonment was substituted for Borstal Training.

The appropriate sentence is the minimum one which allows a further appeal to the tribunal, i.e. 3 months.

A nine-months' sentence certainly does not reflect the spirit of Clause 17 in the Bill which subsequently became the Criminal Justice Act.

A similar sentence was imposed on John Gardyne of Glasgow on January 16.

In this case, however, the Sheriff called for a report by the Probation Officer, who gave John Gardyne an excellent character.

This appeared to have no effect on the Sheriff's decision.

## The age of ruthlessness

*We live in a belated and a omic age in which teen-agers and others are trained for ruthlessness. Some of them have turned to crime which they commit ruthlessly. They treat kindness with contempt. For them corporal punishment is JUST and SUITABLE. Children of an atomic age require robust treatment.*

—"The case for Corporal Punishment for Crimes of Violence," The Magistrate.

*In a human society we are all responsible for one another; it is only by accepting this responsibility and acting on its implications that we shall learn how to prevent crime.*

—The Observer, February 1, 1953.

**THE** Second Reading of a Private Member's Bill, designed to remove the clause in the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, which abolished corporal punishment, will be before the House of Commons on Friday, February 13.

The reason for introducing this Bill is the alleged increase in crimes of violence, and some "learned" Judges have been openly expressing their view that the only answer to such crimes is reciprocal violence; let the punishment, in fact, fit the crime, and return to the ancient savagery of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Magistrates, who, as well as Judges, are called upon to administer the Law, have been invited to vote upon this issue, and in order to assist them, the pros and cons have been set out for their information.

In the brief sentence quoted above, the cause is attributed to the atomic age, and since it is seldom admitted that the present wave of violent crimes has anything to do with war, that is at least something for which we may be thankful.

Though public sentiment may be stirred,

you to support will, we believe, by proceeding by the method of non-violence, bring about an entirely different kind of nationalism from that which has been the curse of the world."

But it was a method which had brought to the people who used it very great suffering, and they cannot go on unless they get help, he added.

### Law depends on consent

Lady Pakenham said that she wished to make three points:

1. That such is the tide of history that whatever is done the coloured peoples of the world cannot be prevented from marching forward to their true destiny... Christian people should march along with them and carry them forward to the achievement of their full privileges and rights.

2. That the African peoples have reached a stage when they can help themselves in this forward march... the miracle for which we must be profoundly thankful is that they are choosing a great high principled method such as non-violent passive resistance.

3. Laws are sacred to the British people only because they have the means of changing them. The African has not this power: he has only a block vote with which to elect three white representatives to the parliament of South Africa... This is not Democracy, and to accept it is to put a curtain between ourselves and our consciences.

## London students' week-end conference on pacifism

**THE** University of London Pacifist Association in conjunction with the School of Economics Pacifist Society is holding a discussion week-end at Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Great Park from February 13-16 to consider four fundamental objections to pacifism.

Students, graduates and lecturers from any College or Polytechnic in the London University are invited. The total cost for the week-end will be £2 5s. Application forms from Mr. G. Newfield, the Pacifist Society, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych, W.C.1.

### BRIEFLY...

A World Congress of Women is to meet in Denmark in June in support of the Partisans of Peace proposals for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. The Congress is being called by the Women's International Democratic Federation, formerly International Women's Day, 13, Unter den Linden, Berlin, W.8 (Soviet Sector). The co-operating organisation in Britain is the National Assembly of Women.

The American Civil Liberties Union has protested to the US Department of Justice at the restrictions imposed on the religious liberty of Rev. Michael Scott while he was attending the UN General Assembly.

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service.  
3.15 p.m. Sunday, February 8.  
Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd.  
(Near Victoria Station.)

Discourse—Mr. Ronald Lightowler.

"WHAT IS MAN?"

as it was in the Bentley case, it is often moved to any acceptance of responsibility, for public opinion is usually informed, largely emotional, and more determined by Press propaganda.

However, it might have been expected from those who are informed, and who moreover, recognise the cause, that they should feel some moral obligation to do with the delinquents not so much as criminals but as victims. Instead, they appear to wash their hands of society's responsibility, and assert that the only course is to hand the criminal over to his "desert."

To say that he has created a class of people, ruthless and violent, and at the same time to argue that there is no way to deal with this other than by reciprocal violence is precisely the doctrine that has brought about two world wars, and seems likely to bring about a third.

The juvenile delinquent, like Bentley, the product of the ruthlessness of the atomic age. Children born just before the second world war, were, when the war came, either snatched from their homes and parents and placed in a different environment, or even if superior to their own, was often a cause of suppressed resentment, or remained in the atmosphere of terror and danger generated by bombing raids, shattered homes, violence and death.

The nightly expeditions to air-raid shelters, the removal of schools to so-called safe areas, the nervous tension of parents all built up a background of insecurity which may well account for much of the present lack of mental balance, and non-comprehension of real values.

Recently an escaped Borstal boy, who re-captured, was found to have in his possession a knuckle-duster, which he revealed he had stolen from an officer of the Borstal institution. The officer admitted that it had been part of his assigned equipment as a Commando.

The Commandos were, in fact, trained "cosh boys," taught to "crack" safes, ears, and kill scientifically and silently. It should never be forgotten that Press and war propaganda have made them out to be heroes.

If corporal punishment is "just and suitable" for those born in the ruthless period of the atom bomb and scientific violence, then it is also just and suitable that society itself should suffer.

Complacent hand-washing will not do, and it was a relief to read the concluding paragraph of the Observer leader last Sunday. This at least came down to basic principles, and faced the fact that we were all responsible.

To restore whipping is a retrograde step like war, it is an unconstructive resort to violence, which can do nothing but begot violence. It is true that society must accept its share of responsibility for—

*The fault... is not in our stars, But in ourselves.*

**LEAD with LABOUR'S LEFT!**

Read the **Socialist Outlook WEEKLY**

★ Order from your Newsagent or write to Dept. B, Socialist Outlook, 177 Bermondsey St. S.E.1

## Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

## FORWARD

On sale everywhere — Friday 3d.  
Postal subscription 19s. 6d. yearly

from **FORWARD**,  
308, Clyde Street, Glasgow, C.I.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.1.  
Peace News, Ltd. Printed by The W. F. Clowes Printing Co., Ltd. (T.U.) London, N.16

An Rib

This French recalls a

From a

MR. E. I. mosan que Dulles, Am State.

Whether such assurance itself is like the assurance which preceded Mr. Morris accepting an man which v document.

Since pers politics, and will in many of us are n any visiting appears wro

Mr. Stiggi

Mr. Dulles ferent categor sinister fight scene. His the Korean to the maki he has a kn where a ne ment as a Commando.

The nick "trop" which have much than princip —wherever together to de in internatio in the midst

Mr. Stigg in England. affairs of A the hands shown him worthy in a

Apostle of

It is, mo policy enun hower's elec in the cu Europe.

★

Unive

FACTS

COMME

Unive

20 years at large majo graduates circumstances Country, t stated "se later died

But whi say was t debates ha view.

Students February General S Union, by House will votes to 30

In Cam Dr. Donald port fram motion "t you want 239 votes

These r activities societies, undergrad very grea

PEA Lon

AN en Pea place at Monday, will be ir be annou